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ABSTRACT

Types of organizations (e.g., conservative, militant, those furthering a specific cause, youth organizations, or social club organizations) involved in Chicano movements operating in the 5 southwestern states and other areas with large numbers of Mexican Americans are described in this paper. Such organizations as the League of United Latin American Citizens, the Alianza Hispano-Americana, the Southwest Council of La Raza, the League of United Citizens to Help Addicts, and the Chicano Welfare Rights Organization are examined in terms of the possibilities of their philosophies or activism affecting education either on a short-term or long-term basis. Additionally, the relationship between the kinds of demands made by the older Spanish-speaking activists and those of today's Chicanos is considered. It is recommended that further research be done on topics such as the various Chicano organizations, the interrelationship between Chicano militancy and other protest movements of the past and present, the implications of improved education along the lines demanded by today's Chicano activist, and how the Anglo power structure is likely to respond to the efforts of activist minority organizations. An appendix consisting of members of the Chicano Press Association, a list of 41 Chicano organizations, and a bibliography are included. (NQ)

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POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF CHICANO MILITANCY ON THE EDUCATION OF THE MEXICAN AMERICAN[1]

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Statement of the Problem

During the school year of 1968-69 there were more than a dozen riots, sit-ins, walkouts, and other militant protest gestures staged in various high schools and colleges throughout the Southwestern part of the United States and elsewhere by a new and extremely vociferous type of Mexican-American. Suddenly, the non-Spanish-speaking community in many areas was made to realize that the apathetic, resigned, and humble Mexican (if he ever did exist) has been replaced, transformed, or at least joined by his brothers of a more bellicose stance. The new Chicano, like the older Mexican-American, wants change in the relationship between him and his society, but he has new means for making his wants known to the public. It is ironic that researchers for at least 40 years have detailed most of the problems to which the young Chicano today is addressing his attention. We have known the effects of the present educational system upon this minority for a very long time, but as Armando Rodriguez has said repeatedly in speeches throughout the nation, "There comes a time when we must simply hit people over the head in order to have any effect" (Rodriguez 1968).

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[1]This paper has been prepared for the Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory, Albuquerque, New Mexico. Grateful acknowledgement is made to Terry Alliband, who ably assisted in the review of the literature. The final draft was submitted early in 1970. The reader should keep in mind that many new events have occurred, and many new publications have appeared since that time. However, I do not believe these in any way change the situation upon which the remarks herein are based.

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It is not difficult to outline the demands of the Chicano voices today, and it is also possible to perceive various currents of interest which, although not united in terms of their overall philosophy, have nevertheless coalesced in a focus upon the problem of education for the Mexican-American today. This paper will attempt to name and describe the various types of activist Chicano movements operating primarily in the five Southwestern states of California, Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado, but also in Chicago, Kansas City, and other areas where large numbers of Mexican-Americans live. A classification will be offered as an aid to analysis. This will point up some of the basic elements involved, including age, economic, and probably philosophical differences among the members of the different organizations. Some of these groups are unique, one of a kind, being focused primarily upon a single problem or endeavor. The majority, however, have multiple purposes, and differ from each other only in emphasis or in some of the factors noted above. The actual demands being made by these groups will be outlined, and suggestions made as to the social context with which they are associated. Finally, I will suggest some of the probable effects on education of the different types of militancy, and suggest areas for further research to help us better understand the situation as it develops.

The Movements

To this writer's knowledge there has been no research focused specifically upon modern Chicano militancy except for that dealing with Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, and the Alianza de los Pueblos Libres headed by Reies Tijerina in New Mexico. The information included here, in addition to the few scholarly sources available, comes

from a perusal of Chicano newspapers and from an occasional story in an Anglo paper or magazine such as the ALBUQUERQUE NEWS, THE NATION, and NEWSWEEK, as well as from reports on conferences and congresses of Chicanos and others dealing with Chicano affairs (see Bibliography II).

It should be stressed that from a social scientific point of view we really don't know much about the new Chicano activists, other than that they are young. We know little about the kinds of socioeconomic backgrounds from which the most vociferous come, their total goals, world views, etc. Hopefully, this situation will be remedied in the near future. A few journalistic accounts have appeared, and various scholars have referred to militancy in essays (Bongartz 1969; Ericksen 1968; Gonzalez 1969; Guzman and Moore 1966; Heller 1970; Love 1969; Romano 1969; Swadesh 1968). In preparing for this paper, the writer sent letters to all members of the Chicano Press Association (see Appendix I) asking for copies of their publications and any other information they might have concerning the role of Chicano organizations in pressing for educational change. Two of the communications were returned unopened, with notices to the effect that the organizations were no longer at this address, and had not left any forwarding instructions. In another case, a letter was received stating that the newspaper was no longer in existence. The writer is a regular subscriber of still another paper, and materials were received from two others. The remainder failed to reply, nor was this researcher able to obtain recent copies of their newspapers. Examples of most have been seen in the past, however. Therefore, most of the information concerning organizations is derived from news reports in EL CHICANO, (San Bernardino, California); EL GALLO, (Denver, Colorado); and EL GRITO DEL NORTE, (Española, New Mexico). Nevertheless, a surprising number of

organizations was mentioned in these three papers, and the writer believes that most of those with a broader national scope have been included. It is also clear that numerous regional and even local groups are beginning to appear. Although not all of these have been identified in this paper, the fact of their probable existence can be stated, and a few of them can be described.

A total of 41 organizations appears on the list in Appendix II. It is difficult to classify these because many of them have overlapping interests and memberships. On the other hand, there do seem to be some criteria by means of which we can group them. For example, there are some which have been in existence for some time, and which are composed mostly of middle-class Mexican-Americans interested in furthering the general welfare of their ethnic group and in providing a mutual-aid environment for their members. These function for the most part as social clubs, but may also be active as political pressure groups. Here are included the GI Forum, the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), the Alianza Hispano-Americana (probably the oldest of all groups to be mentioned here), the Community Service Organization (CSO), the Mexican-American Anti-Defamation Committee, the Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA), and the Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations (PASO). [2] Actually, the last four are much younger than the first three as organizations, but operate in a similar relatively conservative fashion. Members of these groups, most of whom are Hispanos who have "made it," are activist in the sense that they work together to

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[2] It is not known to this writer whether this is the same as the organization sometimes listed as PASSO, Political Action for Spanish-Speaking Organizations.

try to get Mexican-Americans elected to public office, appointed to positions of responsibility at various levels of government, and to combat some of the worst features of discrimination and derogation. Nevertheless, these groups have never engaged in what might be called militant action, preferring to use the quieter mechanisms of distributing pamphlets, making radio and newspaper announcements, and seeking victory at the polls. The designation "conservative" here refers to the fact that these groups generally seek reform within the existing social framework.

These groups also serve to further their internal solidarity by giving fiestas, dances, and other social functions for members and their families. The Alianza Hispano-Americana has for years published a magazine carrying news of members, and especially of those who have been successful in the Anglo world.

Other organizations, also relatively new and also largely conservative in overall philosophy, include the Southwest Council of La Raza, the Colorado Federation of Latin American Organizations, and the Council for Civic Unity, (located in the San Francisco Bay Area, and actually a coalition of minority organizations). The Southwest Council of La Raza is largely supported by the Ford Foundation, which also sponsored the Mexican-American Study Project conducted at the Graduate School of Business Research at UCLA. These organizations differ from the above in that they are umbrella structures with a more complex internal organization. They are also likely to have a broader, program-oriented schedule of activities, and operate less as a mutual-aid society or social club. The Chicano Press Association is also an umbrella-type structure in that it includes a variety of newspapers, and in this capacity, must be considered an integral part of the total

movement. The papers themselves vary in emphasis, quality, format, and political stance, but significantly , do not include all those Spanish language newspapers published. EL HISPANO of Albuquerque, is not, for example, a member. Sometimes a newspaper seems to be especially related to a particular organization. EL CHICANO, for example, has found it necessary to deny that it is a mouthpiece for MAPA. EL GRITO DEL NORTE quite openly serves as a means of furthering the cause of Tijerina's Alianza. EL GALLO regularly carries news items and advertisements concerning the activities of Corky Gonzales and the Crusade for Justice.

There are a few organizations which cater especially to the poor and extremely disadvantaged. These are largely composed of poor people, although the leadership is frequently drawn, at least in part, from outside that group. Here we would include the Alianza Federal de los Pueblos Libres (formerly the Alianza Federal de Mercedes) in New Mexico, the League of United Citizens to Help Addicts (LUCHA), the Chicano Welfare Rights Organization which like Life with Pride in Albuquerque, is composed largely of women on welfare, the Dependency Prevention Commission, Community Action Groups, the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, and the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee. Most of these have one particular issue with which they are most concerned, ranging from the recovery of lost Spanish land grants in the case of the first, to the effort to improve the condition of migrant laborers in California. They stress education of the poor to know their rights, and to band together in order to secure them. Although some of these have also taken a stand on education of Mexican-Americans,

this has not been their primary concern. We shall also include here the Crusade for Justice and the National Chicano Congress of Aztlan, which are also aimed at the less advantaged Mexican-Americans, but which have multiple-purpose programs.

There is a rather large number of groups which are specifically concerned with improvement of formal education for Mexican-Americans. Some of these are made up of educators themselves - the Association of Mexican-American Educators (AMAE), the Congress of Hispanic Educators, and the Mexican-American Parent Advisory Organization (MAPAO) in San Bernardino, California. As might be expected, these particular groups behave in a fashion not designed to create riots. However, their demands are accented by the activities of a number of very active, in some cases, militant youth groups. These include the following: UMAS (United Mexican American Students), by far the most important, widespread, and active of all the student organizations; MAFS (Mexican-American Federation of Students); MASC (Mexican-American Student Confereration), MAS (Mexican-American Students), MECHA (Movimiento Estudientil (sic) Chicano de Aztlan); MAYA (Mexican-American Youth Association); MAYO (Mexican-American Youth Organization); MASA (Mexican-American Student Association); CLA (Chicano Leadership Organization); the Brown Berets, and a number of what appear to be local youth groups. Interestingly, the names of the latter tend to reflect only ethnicity, thus differing from most of the others, whose names describe their interests and frequently form acronyms which are themselves symbolic of their cause. Thus, for example, there are found, among others, La Causa, Los Carnales, Los Boleros, and Los Caballeros

de Nueva Spain. At first this list, which I am sure in only partial, appears to include a bewildering array of organizations--especially for an ethnic group the members of which have been characterized as non-joiners. Certainly this is a myth which should long ago have been exploded, but which now must certainly be abandoned.

Let us see what sense we can make of it all. It is noteworthy that the newer organizations function in a variety of institutional situations. These include schools, prisons, churches, sub-communities such as barrios of the larger urban conglomerations, among drug addicts, and among persons bound together by the fact that they are all on welfare. Even the older organizations were based upon feelings of unity which stemmed from a commonality of experience or interest--members might all be veterans of World War II, businessmen, members of the same community, etc. It is important to note that Chicanos seem to prefer organizing their own interest groups rather than joining those of Anglos, even when their goals are identical. For example, in the fall of 1969, there was a Chicano moratorium committee established in East Los Angeles, which demonstrated against the Vietnam war as a separate pressure unit during the national uproar. Similarly, in some communities a Mexican Chamber of Commerce working side by side with, but separately from, the Anglo Chamber of Commerce can be found. From evidence gleaned from news accounts in the various media mentioned, it seems that the youth groups sometimes behave similarly to Anglo youth groups in their efforts to get things done and to organize. Thus, they elect queens, serve dinners in order to raise money, sponsor talent shows, etc.

The youth groups have been organized mostly through the high schools and in the colleges of the Southwest. The Brown Berets is an example of a youth organization with a base in the community rather than in the schools. It is possible that the functioning of this organization might be better understood if compared and contrasted with the small gang (Palomilla) activities of Mexican-Americans in South Texas as described by Rubel (1966), as well as with descriptions of other youth gang structures (Whyte 1943 e.g.). The descriptions of Pachuco gang philosophy and solidarity during the 1940's suggest an historical precedent for this type of community-based youth protest group (Griffith, 1948).

However, one of the most outstanding elements of most of the youth organizations and the factor which distinguishes them from all the more conservative organizations of their elders as well as from earlier movements such as that of the Pachucos, is the influence of the Black civil rights movements. The Chicanos have adopted a number of slogans and other symbols of their cause, some of which are directly taken from the Blacks, such as the brown berets worn by members of that organization, and clearly modeled after the berets worn by the Young Lords and the Black Panthers.

In an attempt to define the word "Chicano," one young man noted that it was as difficult to define as "soul." Similarly, the phrases "Brown Power," and "Brown is beautiful," appear from time to time even in the press, and clearly denote the influence of the Black Power movement. A direct translation of "We shall overcome" is the slogan "Venceremos."

Other symbols which have been utilized by the young Chicanos include the shout of "Huelga!" This word, meaning "Strike," derives

not only from the grape pickers' strike in California, but reflects the Latin American aspect of the culture. Latin American students shout "Huelga!" whenever they wish to protest the establishment. Similarly, "el grito" refers to "el grito de dolores," the rallying cry which set off hostilities in the Mexican Revolution. In addition, one finds the phrases "La Causa," "La Raza," "Carnalismo," (brotherhood), and most recently, "Aztlan," an Aztec word used here to signify peace, brotherhood, and the desire for a separate Chicano homeland in the Southwest. It literally means "land to the north," which is logical if one's referent base is Mexico. Even the term "Chicano" has become symbolic of the new radical youth. Again quoting from EL CHICANO, "A Chicano is a Mexican-American with a non-Anglo self image," and further, "Yesterday's Pachuco, - today's Chicano," (January 12, 1970).

However, the Chicanos strongly assert their independence from other civil rights groups, and have even been known to be hostile to the demands of other minority groups. In this regard, one statement taken from EL CHICANO went as follows: "La Raza is not white, is not black; La Raza is La Raza, a separate, unique people who have much to contribute."

Another interesting element of the young Chicano movements is their use of drama as a mechanism for teaching their still uncommitted brethren and the larger society. Thus there are in the California region alone El Tcatro Chicano, El Teatro Popular de la Vida y Muerte, El Teatro Campesino, and El Teatro Urbano. In explaining this it is tempting to recall the successful use of dramatic effects by the Catholic Church in the original conquest of Indian minds and souls in the Southwest and Mexico.

However, it is also noteworthy that this technique has been used with some success by both black and white radical youth movements in our nation. I suggest that the latter is the most direct source of inspiration.

It is clear in the case of some of these groups that their interests are closely bound up with the problems of other oppressed segments of the population both in the United States and in the world at large. Thus, in EL GRITO DEL NORTE, one of the more militant newspapers, stories are commonly carried on subject such as the following: The Alianza Federal de Mercedes, Women Guerrillas in Vietnam, the Chicago Eight Conspiracy Trial, The Indians on Alcatraz, SNCC, Jose Martí (the Revolutionary Hero of the 19th Century Hispanic Caribbean), Che Guevara, a quote from Camilo Torres, (the martyred Columbian revolutionary priest), the Young Lords in New York City, the massacre of students in Mexico City last year, the evil effects of drug addiction, the pollution of our environment.

Militancy and Mexican-American Education

Let us briefly review the demands of the new Chicano voices. There seems to be general agreement on measures needed to improve the education of their young. There is an overwhelming demand to strengthen instruction in the Spanish language and the culture which it symbolizes, - a demand which reflects their fear of cultural deprivation and eventual annhilation as a distinct ethnic group. Furthermore, it is recognized that the Chicano child, when entering the first grade with little knowledge of English, is unable to compete with his Anglo peers and tends to fall a little farther

behind each year until the gap is too wide to be made up. There is a felt need, indeed a firm demand, that bi-lingual education be offered to Chicanos. By this is meant instruction in Spanish, with English being taught as a foreign language until the child has sufficient grasp of both so that instruction may be given in either one. Some Chicanos (and some Anglos) feel that in order to avoid the deleterious effects of inevitable segregation, this kind of bi-lingual education should be obligatory for all children in areas of high Mexican-American settlement. Other Chicanos urge such measures only for Chicano youngsters. In the latter case, the problem may be exacerbated by the difficulty of distinguishing between Chicano and non-Chicano, since to an increasing extent the Spanish language has already been largely abandoned for home use. Some children of Spanish heritage would fall into the same category as Anglos who learn Spanish as a foreign language. In any case, the ultimate goal is the ability to communicate with equal facility in both English and Spanish by the fourth or fifth grade. It would seem that this goal should hold attraction for both Mexican-Americans and Anglos, since there are obvious advantages to being bi-lingual in today's world. Furthermore, studies show that the truly bi-lingual child performs better than the monolingual child (Kosinski 1963; Peal and Lambert 1962).

Other demands relating to change in the educational system include a revised testing procedure for Mexican-American children to indicate more accurately their achievement and potential success. Numerous studies have shown that when tested in the English language, the Spanish

speaking child tends to do poorly, and is thereby often relegated to "retarded" status, from which he is rarely elevated.[3] Thirdly, there is a demand that the teachers and school administrators know more about both the heritage and the current condition of the Mexican-American child outside the school. It has been repeatedly suggested that all teachers and administrators presently employed be required to take courses to update them in this knowledge, and to teach them at least the rudiments of the Spanish language. At the same time there are demands for the hiring of more Spanish speaking teachers and administrators across the board.

A fourth demand is that the curriculum be adjusted so that the Mexican-American child learns of the role of his Spanish and Indian forebears in the discovery, colonization, and development of the New World and especially of the United States. It is expected that such emphasis will lead to greater pride in their ethnic group, and concomitantly to a greater sense of personal worth and dignity. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1948:31) noted in comparing Mexican-American and Mexican born children in schools in the United States that the former tended to be less secure and generally timid and ashamed. Clearly, the self-image of these children is the result of social experiences which tend to denigrate the Mexican-American culture and its bearers. For Anglos, such education may help to destroy commonly held derogatory stereotypes. Similarly, and as a logical extension of this demand, there is the idea that teachers should emphasize the present role of the Mexican-American in the United States as a whole. Although

[3] Racial and Ethnic Survey of California's Public Schools 1967, pp. 36-46.

it is primarily at the college level that one hears the cry for a program of Chicano Studies, there is generally the feeling that greater attention should be placed upon dignifying the Mexican-American culture in all its aspects.

There is also a need for the development of teaching materials which reflect the already extant pluralism in the Southwest. Thus, stories should include some Spanish surnamed children as playmates of "Dick and Jane." The drawings in textbooks should also be revised so as to reflect Mexican-American phenotypes.

Finally, it is being urged that the Mexican-American community as a whole should be drawn into the school decision-making process. It has been pointed out that the Mexican-American child is not school-oriented because his family as a whole is not, (Rodriguez: n.d. COUNSELING AND GUIDANCE FOR THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN STUDENT). It is felt that the school authorities should not simply sit back and cluck about the fact that Mexican-American parents do not come to the PTA meetings. Rather, there should be positive efforts to seek out the parents and to find meaningful ways of including them so as to engage their interests in the problems of their children and of the school system as a whole.

At the college level there is a demand for compensatory education in the sense that policies should vigorously favor members of minority groups rather than simply giving them equality. Thus, at a minimum, there should be larger numbers of scholarships for Mexican-Americans in existing institutions, and preferably there should be developed tuition-

free high quality colleges in order to further remedy the fact that so few Mexican-Americans go on to the universities. Finally there are demands which are more symbolic in nature but which may be equally important in terms of assuaging student ire. These include demands that Mexican food be served in the school cafeterias, that cafeteria prices be lowered, that permission to speak Spanish on the school property be granted, that Mexican music be played at school dances, and that Mexican-Americans be included among class officers and on Student Senates.

These demands illustrate that the education designed for the Anglo middle-class American has never actually reached groups with different histories and social characteristics. Even in comparison with other deprived segments of the population, the Chicanos come out poorly. The drop-out rate in some high schools in the Southwest has at times been over 60% for Chicanos - higher than for any other group (Rodriguez 1968:3). In California, where the Mexican-American population is twice that of Blacks, the latter nevertheless outnumber Chicanos nine to one in the Berkeley Opportunity Program. The average Chicano in California reaches only 8th grade, while the Black achieves 10.5 years of education, and the Anglo 12.1 years, (Bongartz 1969:272). The Chicano believes, perhaps with reason, that the louder voices of the Black minority group have been instrumental in achieving some progress for them in the schools. Whether this is true or not, it is clear that Chicano silence has been broken forever. The push from now on will be to convince school authorities that it is wrong and useless

to try to change the children who fail; that it is rather a necessity to change the system which failed them.

This leads us to a consideration of still another matter - one which is recognized by the most militant, and perhaps explains their alliance with interest groups beyond the narrow Mexican-American range itself. The question must always be asked - education for what? It is clear to many that the broader parameters of the American system limit the kinds of jobs and way of life open to the Mexican-American youth, regardless of what education he may receive. As Rodriquez has said, "The education they are receiving, even with a high school diploma, will not prepare them for much more than what they can obtain without that diploma." This means that the drop-out rate is perhaps a response to the realization that school for the Mexican-Americans does not bring the same rewards that it brings for the WASP. This point has been made by Lyle Shannon (1968:52) who says, "Not all Mexican-Americans...have the same definitions of success as do Anglos. Those who do find that the larger society is not organized in such a manner that the payoff comes to them in the same way that it comes to Anglos."

Probable Effects of Militancy on the Education of Mexican-Americans

a) Short Run Effects

It seems likely that the possibilities for militant philosophy and action now being presented to the Mexican-American student may temporarily increase the drop-out rate by providing dissatisfied, unhappy, isolated Chicano students with a new focus for identification. It may make more students aware of their condition, and thus increase dissatisfaction.

It is likely that the youth groups will more and more infiltrate the high schools where the problems are worst. College students have, by definition, "made it" - they have struggled through the maze of WASP education and gained admission to elite status. These college students themselves may very likely reach out to organize high schools and communities in order to help those brothers and sisters not as lucky as they are.[4]

High school students are especially good targets for this type of awareness education because by this time in their lives many have fallen so far behind through their poor beginnings that there are obvious and painful differences in performance between them and their Anglo peers. They are now also fully aware of even the most subtle prejudice and discrimination.

On the other hand, the increase in organized Chicano clubs within the high schools may also have the effect of decreasing the drop-out rate by giving the students a cause for which they can work within the school system itself. If these clubs are encouraged, rather than ridiculed

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[4]A good example of this is the recent action of UMAS on the campus of the University of New Mexico. This group discovered a long-standing case of discrimination against Mexican-American employees in the physical plant. They called this to the attention of the administration, faculty, state legislature, and community at large. HEW finally was called in to investigate the matter, and it was determined that for 18 years the University had "unintentionally" discriminated against persons of Spanish heritage in the department in question.

or repressed, they may serve to absorb the energies of the students, and in the long run detract from the more revolutionary demands which would seem to be inevitable otherwise. That is, these clubs may dissipate their energies in striking for Mexican foods, Mexican queens, Mexican class officers and the like, rather than making any real changes in the system as a whole.

There is also the possibility that, if the demands are not quickly answered in one way or another, there will be increased violence in the schools, resulting in the destruction of property and possibly of lives. There is good reason to believe some elements of the new Chicano youth movement are fully capable of taking really violent action. Such groups will not be satisfied with token improvements such as those outlined in the preceding paragraph. To the extent that the community and school boards fail to make basic changes as demanded, they may expect increasingly violent action. This in turn may force communities to respond to their demands by reorganizing the school systems along the lines described. In those areas with a heavy Mexican-American representation, it is likely that the process of drawing the community into the schools may succeed in forcing some of the issues related to preparation and hiring of teachers. In areas where Anglos are still able to dominate the school boards and set school policy, it may require a long-drawn-out series of small but violent incidents to have any effect.

Certainly, the issue of bi-lingual education is one which may create polarization, not only between the Anglos on the one hand and the Mexican-American group on the other, but even within the Mexican-American group

itself. Since many of the older generation feel that they were able to succeed in an economic sense only when they substituted English for Spanish as their native tongue, many of them feel strongly about this particular issue. They and their parents suffered so much because of the stigma of speaking English imperfectly and with a "foreign" accent that their reaction is frequently to repress Spanish altogether. It will require considerable education of this group before they are likely to devote time, effort, and money to bring Spanish back into the system in such a fundamental way as that suggested by the proponents of bi-lingual education.

It is likely that considerable discussion and procrastination will occur before this issue is resolved. On the other hand, there is also some evidence that even the most conservative are finding it unfashionable today to deny their Spanish cultural background, especially if they are in the public eye. Even those who believe most firmly in the "melting pot" philosophy would be wise to reconsider this position if they wish to continue garnering votes among their brethren.

b) Long Run Effects

If the demands outlined above are met, and if the present education of Mexican-Americans is improved, it will eventually result in a pool of more skilled and professional Mexican-American workers, who will in turn demand open opportunities in the world to which they graduate. Education does not change the value system simply by teaching new values. Rather, it tends to reinforce and support current ones. But it seems clear from recent events involving today's under-30 generation, that it <u>can</u>

force change by producing a sophisticated, aware graduate, who understands finally why his group, or any other disadvantaged group, is in the fix it is in. Such graduates yearn for change, and are susceptible to revolutionary philosophy when they feel powerless to bring it about in any other way.

Perhaps it is for such reasons that the established elements have put aside action on problems such as those dealt with in this paper. Evidence has been steadily accumulating for over 40 years that has never been taken into account in the actual school programs (see Bibliography II). Perhaps there has been a fear that improved education will make the Chicano "forget his place." If it is meant by this that he will recognize that he has been poorly treated, it is a correct assumption, of course, and today's climate confirms it. But it is now too late - the cat is out of the bag, and failure to provide it with catnip and tasty food may bring total disaster for the system as we now know it.

Many of those clamoring for change say that they do not want to destroy the system, they want only to improve it. But they must recognize that improvement of the educational system will point up defects in the larger social system. This then, may lead to efforts to improve that as well. I would predict that increased awareness of the world through improved education will radicalize more Mexican-Americans - make them more dissatisfied with the way things are put together. As part of this change there is likely to be a change in the personality structure and role of Chicano females. Even today the younger Chicanos are less cloistered, less reticent than the ideal taught by their culture. They

are attending rallies, speaking out, writing in newspapers, and joining the activist males in demanding their rights.

In spite of some attempts to suggest otherwise (Romano 1968), the new militancy is different from Mexican-American protests in the past. It is a product of the new youth and the New Left, from which it has drawn inspiration and sustenance. There is a kind of pan-minority philosophy here in which ethnicity becomes subordinated to socio-economic considerations. The rhetoric of the Chicano movement stresses ethnicity, but at the same time it is clear that their major goal is the same as that of United States Blacks and American Indians - namely a place in the decision-making apparatus and process, and through this, a better way of life for the disadvantaged of their group.

Let us briefly consider the relationship between the kinds of demands made by the older Spanish-speaking activists and those of the Chicanos. Groups such as the G.I. Forum, LULAC, etc. were concerned about the acceptance of Mexican-Americans on all social occasions. They wished to improve the status of their group through desegregation of schools, equal acceptance of Mexican-Americans in politics and employment, and in society as a whole. Their means for achieving these goals lay primarily in internal education. By this they often meant "self-improvement," or acculturation to some of the Anglo patterns. Primarily, they were concerned with learning English and with the outward symbols of the Anglo world. In a sense they were following the philosophy of "beating the Anglos at their own game," in order to achieve some success in the Anglo world. As a whole they were quiet as individuals, lobbying through their

organizational fronts, but rarely causing any ripples in the smooth waters of their communities. As such, they were relatively successful. In New Mexico especially, the position of Spanish-speaking persons has improved steadily since World War II (Gonzalez 1969). Yet, they did not necessarily become Anglicized in this process. They lived double lives, perhaps, but overwhelmingly tended to retain much of whatever it is that makes this group distinguishable from all others. The important point here, and one which many militants will reject, is that they remained basically Mexican-American (or Spanish-American).

The modern Chicano, on the other hand, is also interested in the goals described above. However, in addition, he stresses retention of the Spanish language and culture as well as a recognition of the value of his heritage by both Mexican-Americans and Anglos. And finally, he is concerned with forcing Anglos to recognize the fallacy of the notion of "cultural deprivation" in that it is the middle-class American system and not the Chicano that is deprived!

The means used by the youth are also quite different from those of a generation ago. The Chicano youth has focused upon the school system and the lower-income community as the primary targets for change. Mexican-American internal education focuses upon the plight of the poor modern

Chicano, and the formation of new organizations and mechanisms to carry forth the new philosophy and to force the kinds of changes here outlined. In a nutshell, the new Chicano wants the Anglo and his society to change in order to accomodate him, rather than vice-versa, as seems to have been the case in the older activist organizations.

Finally, some of the most militant also want

(1) a revamping of the whole society,

(2) liaisons with other minority civil rights groups and with Third World liberation efforts, and

(3) a revolution within the Chicano society itself.

The means by which they hope to achieve these include the items mentioned above, but also any violent action necessary in order to make themselves heard, and to destroy the existing system should that appear necessary.

It is not clear to this writer whether the leaders of the most militant branches of Chicano activism fully understand the implications of their philosophy for the future of Chicano culture itself. That is, it seems that many of the values and characteristics most frequently touted as being typical of the Spanish world view and sociocultural system will soon be forced to disappear in the effort to conform to supra-ethnic civil rights trends. The newspapers referred to above, particularly EL GRITO DEL NORTE, indicate that this process is already underway. For example, the latter paper exhorts its readers to examine the role of the Catholic Church vis-à-vis minorities everywhere, and severely criticizes the Church for its elitist position. Similarly, the young people today frequently find themselves in opposition to their elders, even within

their own families. This is likely to place stresses upon the traditional unity of that group, as well as upon the authority of the older over the younger. Finally, as mentioned above, the position of the woman is very likely to undergo drastic change. As the young Chicanos increasingly confront the outer world, the new women's liberation movements will to an increasing extent affect the young Chicana. Similarly, her role as the protected, silent, and obedient wife and mother will soon be considered inadequate by the girls who are encouraged to take part in the protest marches.

It has been noted by Ericksen (1968) that the most activist among Mexican-Americans are those already most Anglo in their attitudes - more aware of their rights and of the "machinery of democracy." Also, Heller (1970:454) has recently done a study showing a new trend toward upward mobility among Mexican-American youth. Both of these observations indicate that acculturation is already indeed underway. It is ironic that the very movements which most stress the retention of the Spanish language and culture should be those which step irretrievably past the boundaries of ethnicity in their cooperative efforts. Social scientists have documented the behavior of many immigrant groups who first reject and then stress the retention of the symbols of their ancestry - the latter occurring only when they have already nearly disappeared into the melting pot, and as Heller has noted, the Mexican-Americans, unlike the Blacks, do have the social characteristics of immigrants.

Before World War I there was in the United States a generally favorable climate toward cultural pluralism. Germans and other nationality sub-groups

in the Midwest used their language as one means of warding off Americanization. World War I, with its Americanization movement, brutally forced these groups to conform. This, in spite of the previously open attitude exemplified by John Dewey who said in 1915 ". . .Our public schools shall teach every factor to respect every other, and shall take pains to enlighten all as to the great past contributions of every strain in our composite make up," (quoted by Gordon 1964:139). It is possible, of course, that had World War I not intervened, the plural society might have become the American Way. Today, admittedly there seems to be a resurgence of enthusiasm for the recognition of the worth of different ethnic heritages within the nation. Let us hope that no reactionary movements step in to interfere with the fulfillment of the potential these seem to hold. However, should the society be faced with further internal or external crises, there is always the danger that real or imagined national insecurity will lead to greater intolerance of difference, and that the philosophy of the plural society will be crushed.

Should this happen, there is likely to be increased polarization within La Raza. Some will continue to assimilate towards the Anglo middle-class way of life, where they have already found that it is possible to succeed. On the other hand, even those who think they are not assimilating are likely to be drawn increasingly into the radical orbit of the New Left, where cultural differences are also likely to disappear.

Suggestions for Research

A final note lest the readers think these remarks have come to a pessimistic conclusion. Much of the foregoing is of necessity con-

jectural. Research is sorely needed, both on the Chicano middle class, and on the new Chicano militants themselves. But more than this, I would stress the need for a greater understanding of the United States society as a whole. I suggest that we will never understand Chicano militancy without understanding the causes of the pressures placed upon this and other minority groups. There are suggestions recently within the field of anthropology that what is most lacking is an understanding of the power structure and of the roles of various segments of our population in determining the life pattern of others (see Gough 1968, Peattie 1958, Valentine 1968). It is clear that there are certain components which have virtually no control over their own fate, much less that of others. As in reference to life in the Black ghettos, it is not enough to study the ghetto, but we must understand how it fits into the total city, region, nation, and analytic social structures of which it forms a part.

My specific recommendations for further research include the following:

(1) Studies of the various kinds of Chicano organizations described herein. A determination of their composition, means of recruitment, goals, methods of operation, etc. A model for this kind of study might be that illustrated by Sargis (1966).

However, it should be noted that there are problems involved in trying to secure information concerning these movements. Ideally, the investigator should not only be trained in social science, but be a member of La Raza as well. Many of the activist youth are understandably suspicious and even hostile toward outsiders. On the other hand, some sympathetic Anglos may be better received than a Mexican-American who is perceived to be a Tio Tomás. There already exists a Master's thesis written at San Francisco State College in 1966 (Sargis) which deals with the goals, aims and operation of

various Mexican-American organizations in the Bay Area of California.

(2) Research on the interrelationship between Chicano militancy and other protest movements of the past and present. It is clear that these movements are not unique, but share characteristics with many others occurring through history, as well as with contemporary civil rights movements throughout our own nation and in other parts of the world (Gonzalez 1969; Love 1969).

(3) A study of the implications of improved education along the lines demanded by the Chicano activist today. Is the society as a whole ready to admit the Chicano to full participation? Studies such as that of Shannon (1966) are important models for this.

(4) Studies of the ways in which the Anglo power structure is likely to respond to the efforts of activist minority organizations. For example, will the prejudiced Anglo listen to a Mexican-American telling him how to behave towards his people, or is he more likely to listen to another Anglo telling him the same thing? It might be hypothesized that as Mexican-Americans and Blacks now want to be taught by others like themselves, so do Anglos prefer being "told off" by other Anglos. In relation to this point, it is frequently true that the activist minority groups reject <u>all</u> Anglos. We need to have research on the effect of this upon the likelihood that their demands will actually be met.

I am sure that other readers may find other kinds of studies suggested to them both by the data and the thoughts presented in this paper, as well as by other observations of militant movements. I hope that this will at least form a starting base, and serve as a stimulus to further thought and research.

Appendix I

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Appendix II

MEXICAN-AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS MENTIONED IN TEXT

Alianza Federal de los Pueblos Libres

Alianza Hispano-Americana

Association of Mexican-American Educators

Brown Berets

California Service Organization (CSO)

Católicos por La Raza (San Diego)

Chicano Leadership Organization (CLO)

Chicano Moratorium (East Los Angeles)

Chicano Press Association (CPA)

Chicano Welfare Rights Organization (CWRO)

Colorado Federation of Latin-American Organizations

Community Action Groups (CAG)

Council for Civic Unity (S.F. Bay Area)

Congress of Hispanic Educators

Crusade for Justice

Dependency Prevention Commission (DPC)

G.I. Forum

La Causa (California)

League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC)

Los Boleros (San Bernardino)

Los Caballeros de Nueva España (Albuquerque)

Los Carnales (California)

League of United Citizens to Help Addicts (LUCHA)

Mexican-American Anti-Defamation Committee

Mexican-American Culture Group (California Institution for Men at Chino)

Mexican-American Federation of Students (MAFS)

Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund

Mexican-American Parent Advisory Organization (MAPAO)

Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA)

Mexican-American Students (MAS)

Mexican-American Students Association (MASA)

Mexican-American Student Confederation (MASC)

Mexican-American Youth Association (MAYA)

Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO)

Movemiento Estudientil (sic) Chicano de Aztlan (MECHA)

National Chicano Congress of Aztlan

Political Action for Spanish-speaking Organizations (PASSO)

Political Association of Spanish-speaking Organizations (PASO)

Southwest Council of La Raza

United Farm Workers Organizing Committee

United Mexican-American Students (UMAS)

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